



INDU NATION

A

Solution of the Communal Tangle

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EIGHT ANNAS

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PREFACE

In these pages an attempt has been made to explain the present political situation and the communal tangle obtaining in India and a solution has been suggested. It is very pertinently questioned as to how does the Hindu Rashtra Mission Sangh help the solution of the problem of Swaraj. Swaraj is a dream and will remain so unless there is the consciousness of one nation. That consciousness of one nation can never be possible unless all people come under one nomenclature. Unless the two principal claimants of nationhood become one by merging one in the other it is never possible to have one nation. The dangerous methods of placating both the claimants to nourish their separate existence on false analogies taken from different parts of the world have landed the country into more and more difficulties and the solution is never in sight. Hence it is attempted through Hindu Rashtra Mission Sangh that 'Muslim' being a term that is incapable of including all the people of this country, Hindu only can include all. It is also explained how the alternative terms 'Hindustani' or 'Indian' cannot eradicate the evil existence of two parallel so called nations. One must be in a position to include the other; otherwise the evil of two entities will remain. To many it appears a Himalayan task. It may be so. But those who want quick result

like the impatient sick man who wants to be cured in one dose of medicine will feel dejected over the remedy suggested, for it is like a long course treatment of a much complicated chronic disease. Swaraj is not within sight. It is to be remembered that Pakistan and Swaraj are two contradictory terms and if the advocate of the one rules out the other where is Swaraj ? The remedy suggested in these pages is like the homeopathic medicine. It treats the symptoms and helps the nature within. You will look fat and stout when the nature helps you from within. Any attempt to look fat and stout from outside inflation is an illusory method. Hence to the extent the medicine is appropriate, your recovery will hasten, irrespective of any anxiety on your part. The special feature of this course of treatment, that is, the treatment of the national malady through Hindu Rashtra Mission Sangh is, that it relieves you of anxiety on your part for Swaraj. Swaraj becomes a matter of course.

The articles taken from Roy's Weekly of New Delhi were written as early as 1939 and there may be slight changes in the course of events due to change of circumstances but the fundamental principles underlying those articles are the basis of the Hindu Rashtra Mission Sangh.

The speech delivered in the Assembly on the occasion of debate on Finance Bill in 1942 has brought in bold relief the admission of the Muslims that they are called 'Hindus' outside India.

Some extracts from newspapers have been supplied to me through the kindness of a friend who possessed these cuttings and they are so very pertinent and relevant to the subject matter of this book that I could not check the temptation of incorporating them in a separate chapter under a most appropriate heading in the words of Mahatma Gandhi himself.

In the end a tentative constitution for working out the programme of Hindu Rashtra Mission Sangh has been given. It may be improved upon by constructive thinking and if brought into existence, by practical experience, gained through the actual working. The writer's humble request to the patient thinkers of the national problem is, that if the subject matter of these pages appeals to their heart they should do their mite in propagating the idea contained herein and furthering the cause of the Hindu Rashtra by helping in laying the foundation of the Sangh proposed. The writer would feel grateful for any suggestion and query for the clarification of any matter contained in these pages.

Kailash Behari Lal.

Bhagalpur,
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Hindu Rashtra Mission Sangh

In order to appreciate what the Hindu Rashtra Mission Sangh aims at, the present situation obtaining in the country should be first analysed and understood. It goes without saying that at present the life of the people in this country in every sphere is very much predominated and influenced by the three big organisations, namely, the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League.

Congress

The Congress since the very day of its inception claimed to be the national organisation of all people of this country irrespective of their caste, creed or religion. There have been different phases in the life of this organisation and its latest phase may be said to coincide with the advent of Mahatma Gandhi in the politics of this country since the year 1919. Before this period not only the politics of this country and the National Congress were completely divorced from religion but even the individual national leaders were very much indifferent to religion. They shaped their own life as well as the life of the national congress after the pattern of European model. Although Mahatma Gandhi was not a bit behind those leaders in his Conception of national problems in right perspective, he was intensely moral in his outlook and sought for the solution of every problem on the foundation of religion. His approach to politics through religion had both the

bright and dark sides. It is admitted on all hands that but for him there would not have been perhaps the awakening which we have in this country. There is at once the other side that but for his unadmitted Himalayan blunder of inaugurating the Khilafat movement in the form as he did, there would not have been the present Hindu-Muslim tangle. Consistent with himself he could not deny to the Muslims which he claimed and practised himself. But whereas in his practice of religion he could amend it to the extent of killing a calf against the rigidity of established religion and bring about sweeping changes in its injunctions and remodel it to suit the exigencies of time, there was not the least scope of interfering even to the extent of dotting the i's or cutting the t's so far the Islam in India was concerned. Although Ataturk Kamal Pasha in Turkey might have finished with Khilafat and all its antidiluvian forms but the protagonist of it in Hindustan must swear by it. Mahatma Gandhi's attempt to bring Muslims into political arena through religion was an honest fatal blunder which fanned the fire of fanaticism in the Muslims. Even though fanatical, Muslim masses of people could have been moulded to the right line had Mahatma Gandhi himself got rid of thinking in terms of two peoples with regard to Muslims on one hand and the Hindus on the other and veered round some of his Muslim followers to that view. Neither Mahatma Gandhi nor any of his followers thought of one nation. They fell into a habit of always speaking of Muslims and Hindus and emphasising the points of difference though under the cover of bringing about unity. In their anxiety to win

Swaraj they resolved to go to any length for placating the Muslims. The Muslims' interference with the social, religious and political rights of other peoples of this country was connived at and easily conceded. On the opposition of the parties affected by the aggression, the Congress adopted a pusillanimous attitude and declared to be neutral. The Congress leaders helped in creating and developing a psychology of submission, softness and sacrifice towards every kind of Muslim demand and even big leaders sealed their tongue when they should and could have spoken out the truth as they felt. Instead, a campaign of flattery, cajollery, coaxing and abject surrender became the order of the day. The only up-to-date method conceived in the Congress was unity, pact and agreement. The more the passion for Swaraj was roused by the political awakening, the more the anxiety for appeasing the Muslim unreasonableness. The more the mirage, the phantom, the will o' the wisp of unity was pursued, further it receded. The condition of the Congress could be compared with that of a person blind in love who condescended to do everything proper or improper but still he was rejected. In its blind attitude no body doubted the sincerity of the Congress to woo the Muslims but the fact remained that in its anxiety to get Swaraj the Congress forgot to stick to the fundamental of Swaraj, that is, individuality of a nation, and always conceded separate entity of Muslims and condescended to bring about unity, pact and agreement. This attitude on the part of the Congress conferred an importance on the Muslims, fostered a sense of separate individuality in them and recognised them

a body to be negotiated on equal footing. After having gone so far they could not possibly check the natural consequences on both sides. The Congress was helpless in checking the Muslims from declaring themselves as a separate nation and it is equally dumb-founded at the natural conclusion with which Rajagopalachari has confronted it. Rajagopalachari is only the fruit of the tree which was sown, watered and nourished by the Congress leaders. After having created the ghost Congress feel horrified at it. Rajagopalachari's support of Pakistan is the result of loose incoherent and inconsistent thinking about nationalism in India. After having spoiled the history of India by giving wrong interpretation, of historical facts and incidents, the British people aimed at carving out nations in India. They encouraged Aligarh School of thought. They attempted to divide Bengal and foster Arabic culture by making Dacca its centre. They wanted Indian Christians to constitute a separate people much against their will. The Congress ought to have taken note of all those sinister move on the part of the British and refused to fall into their trap. Instead, they sedulously went on following the footsteps of the British. Lord Minto planned separate electorate system. Congress accepted it and based Lucknow pact on it with 25 per cent. of Muslim representation. The pact was never respected and the Simon Commission gave 27 per cent. Then Pandit Motilal Nehru wanted to run a race with the British people and offered 28 per cent. in his famous report. The British people defeated the Congress by conceding 33½ per cent. in its famous Communal Award. Congress said we neither support

nor oppose the British Government's mischief. But Mr. Jinnah would not be satisfied with less than 50 per cent of power at the Centre. Rajagopalachari conceded this even. Now the last demand is that as the British had taken over the government of the country from the Muslims they are bound to return it to the Muslims. The clever British people would mutter 'there is truth in this' and the Congress President would say 'Amen'! It is against this attitude of the Congress that the Hindu Mahasabha has raised its voice. This is so far Congress vis-a-vis the Muslims. It would not be out of place to mention that inspite of the attempts of the Congress to level down caste distinction amongst the so called Hindus the Congressmen have not shed off their caste predilection. Even as late as the year 1927, Doctor Rajendra Prasad presided over the Kayastha Conference at Jaunpur and there are very few Congress leaders who are free from caste predilections. My intention is far from casting any reflection upon Dr. Rajendra Prasad. I only mean to show that the people were so very innocently indifferent to such a poisonous aspect of the national life. Now the result is that the whole province of Bihar is divided into Bhumihar Zone and Rajput Zone and the other minor castes have to cast their lot with either of the two. And woe betides the man who stands out against this combination. In short, thanks to the major issue of Hindustan versus Pakistan that has eclipsed the other minor issues else we would have found ourselves engaged in the right royal battle for Bhumiharistan and Rajputistan, in our own province of Bihar. Let not any body delude himself in the belief that the issue has

been too much exaggerated. Those who have the least doubt should picture in their mind the pitched battles that were fought in the year 1926 or 1927 in the District of Monghyr between Rajputs and Bhumiars on one side and the Kurmis and Gwalas on the other. And imagine the cause of the battle was that the Kurmis and Gwalas had ventured to put on the so called sacred thread round their neck which is regarded by the so-called high caste as their exclusive right. And would any body believe that in the pitched battles that were fought the casualties amounted to over a hundred both as killed and injured. The real position at present is that almost every Congressman is a protagonist of his caste and he owes allegiance to the Congress as it promises some better prospect. Every organisation run by the Congress including even the Congress Committees, presents a disgraceful demonstration of caste scrambles. Justice, truth and merit have been sacrificed at the altar of caste. And on the analogy that before the god of a particular religion a goonda professing that religion is better in the eyes of his co-religionists than a Mahatma of another religion, a worthless man of a particular caste is better in the eyes of his caste protagonists than the best in other castes. Thus favouritism, nepotism and corruption of all kinds are rampant in the Congress organization. Mr. Jinnah is right at least on this score that this country is least fitted for democracy. So long Congressmen believe in and belong to caste they should be frank enough to confess that they do not believe in democracy. It is nothing but downright hypocrisy to say that there is democracy in Congress. At least

there is no such thing in Bihar and although I cannot assert about the other Provinces, but what little I know of other Provinces I am sure the condition is not much different from that of Bihar. The Congressmen are not occupying the same position as they did in 1920 or 1930. Congress organisation is almost non-existent in villages. In towns the Congressmen carry on their trade with their eyes on the possible lucrative places. And whether in town or in village they do not command the former respect with the mass of the people. But apart from the misdeeds of the Congressmen, the Congress has become the symbol of national liberty of this country. The very mention of its name conjures up a respectful regard in the mind of the masses and it still occupies a unique position in the heart of the people inspite of the misdeeds of the Congressmen. It is this aspect of the Congress that washes away the sins of Congressmen and inspite of their so many kinds of drawbacks they carry the day as against Hindu Sabhites and others. And inspite of the dark picture just given above about the Congress this much must be said that the cream of the Congress organization though victim of loose thinking with regard to the national ideal, cannot be said to be deliberately anti-national. But all the same whether deliberately or unconsciously, the Congress policy, the behaviour of the Congressmen and the Congress leadership have all tended to bring about a result in the country which no amount of sophistry can explain away easily. And the Congress cannot plead not guilty to the charge of begetting this monster of two nations theory and Pakistan.

Hindu Mahasabha

Hindu Mahasabha is only a reaction of the Congress policy of extreme sacrifice and abject submission. All sections of Hindus being primarily Congress-minded there was neither the occasion nor the propriety of a separate Hindu organisation. But the ways of Providence are strange. It seemed the Congress Leaders required some sort of brake to be applied to their anti-national attitude which they followed unconsciously. Hindu Sabha organised double front opposition both to the Congress and the Muslim League. It has gained appreciable success negatively. It has been able to check the Congress and the Muslim League in their further anti-national advance. But so far the positive contribution in solving the tangle is concerned it has until now done nothing. Like the Congress it is also victim of loose incoherent and inconsistent thinking. While there is a saving grace with the Congress in as much as, though, wrongly, it offers a solution in unity and pact, the Hindu Maha Sabha has not even that. It does not say what is the position of eight crores of Muslims. It says 'Hindus are a nation by themselves'—Savarjati. Hindus do not include Muslims according to them. Apparently Muslims are in some different nation. If the Muslims are not in the Hindu nation they must be in some nation of their own. Then is not the Hindu Mahasabha responsible for recognising Muslims as a separate nation? If you recognise Muslims as a separate nation how does it lie in your mouth to deny two nation theory? Either the Muslims are in the same nation with you or they are not. If they are not according

to the definition given by Savarkar then Hindu Sabha is as much responsible for two nation theory as any Muslim Leaguer or Pakistani can be. And then there is no escape from the natural conclusion of Pakistan.

There is some truth in the fact that on account of their religio—social institution of caste the Hindus are something like anti-national being. A number of social and religious reformers attempted to demolish this ungodly and inhuman institution and most of them had some success to their credit but the general structure of the Hindu society continued in the caste mould as before. The greatest onslaught on it since after Buddha was hurled by Mahatma Gandhi but the reactionary Hindu leaders who have clustered round the Hindu Mahasabha seem to conspire to neutralise the effect of Mahatma Gandhi's movement in the direction of solidifying the Hindu society. With the exception of sprinkling of few Savarkars and Moonjes, Hindu Mahasabha seems to be predominated with persons who want to retain the present caste structure and against whom the few liberal minded leaders are helpless. It seems in the present mood of mind of the Hindu Mahasabha leaders it is not possible to conceive of any dynamic movement opening the floodgate of Hindu culture and Hindu civilization to submerge any foreign culture that may be attempting to divide the Hindu nation. Hindu Mahasabha feels aggrieved and dissatisfied at the most yielding and submissive attitude of the Congress but is helpless to come out with any remedy. The only remedy it suggests is that the Hindus should be strong. This

signifies that the country should be always divided into two armed camps. This is exactly what the third party wants. To be always in the mood of opposing and fighting each other is just the thing which fits in with the policy of the group which wants that there should be no respite no lull lest the peaceful atmosphere may help the cause of gradual assimilation of those people in the Hindu nation who are always fed upon the idea of repatriation based on foreign culture. There can be no two opinions about a people being physically strong, well drilled and even military minded but the sting lies in the idea of being strong with a particular purpose which is detrimental to the cause of Hindu nation itself. Unfortunately, Muslims who are part and parcel of the great Hindu nation are led to believe that they belong to foreign origin and as they are small in numbers compared with the Hindus in this country they cannot keep up their individuality unless they continue a perpetual clash with the Hindus. They are fed with the belief

If the Muslims would provoke they would fight and fulfil just the desire of those enemies of Hindu nation who would not like the fusion and growth of one single nation. Thus the Hindu Mahasabha has the best of intention and the most burning passion to save and organise the Hindu nation but its condition may be likened with that of a suffering person who would very much like to swallow the whole shop of sweetmeat but is incapable of putting even a single morsel in his mouth. Treatment of disease is essential before the suffering man desires to satisfy his lust. It would not be out of place to point out here that although Hindu Sabha has no programme for the propagation of any particular religion and although primarily it is a political body the general trend of the Sabha is in favour of Shuddhi movement, that is, conversion from Islam and christianity to the Arya Samaj. Nothing can be said against Shuddhi or conversion from one faith to another. This is a right within religious freedom and followers of every religious faith are free to exercise this right of preaching their own religion and seeking converts from other. But it is too late in the day to think of religious conversion as a means to solve a political tangle. The Hindu Sabha must shed off its narrowness and broaden its national outlook before it attempts to be successful in solving the national problem. The Hindu Mahasabha has not set about the task in this light of the situation and seems to be helping the cause of two nation theory and Pakistan even more than the Congress does.

Muslim League

About the Muslim League the less said the better. It is frankly anti-national and is out to divide the nation. From its humble beginning as representing the Muslims as a Community within the Indian nation it has developed as a big organisation of the so called Muslim nation. The state of mind of the Muslims as represented by this organisation cannot better be described than in the language of one of the members of the All India Muslim League Council who is Mr. Jamaluddin Ahmed, Lecturer of the Aligarh Muslim University. He says in his book—The Indian Constitutional tangle—"In the case of the ninety millions Muslim particularly it can be claimed and proved to demonstration that they have more elements of unity and cohesion than any other people of India. What with common historic traditions, common cultural heritage and traditions, a common language, a unified life outlook and social polity, Common Laws, values and moral consciousness and Common political inspiration and destiny the Muslims of India are the most compact and solid nationality. The Muslims have their distinct social and political ideology which they are not prepared to surrender for any extraneous consideration; for Islam is not a mere religion in the western sense—a matter of private relationship between the individual and his god or gods. Islam is a complete philosophy of life, a social polity and a state concept, governing every aspect of human life, individual and collective. The Muslims have awakened to their cultural, political and national self consciousness. While they do not mean to do the

slightest harm to any one else they have developed the will and are determined to have their own territory, homeland and state where they can develop and build up their own social cultural, economic and spiritual life, according to their own ideals and genius. There are no two more clearly marked regions than the north-west of India, comprising Muslim majority provinces, and the north east of India, consisting of Bengal and Assam, excluding a few Hindu Districts. Then in the rest of India there are small tracts and areas distinct from adjoining territory because of Muslim populations. Further still, the distinctive national traits of Muslims even in the midst of large Hindu populations will clearly be evident to the most casual foreign observer. In the face of these incontrovertible facts, is it a crime on the part of the Muslims to claim an equal share of power and freedom and their own right of self determination? The Muslim ideology of separate nation has advanced so far that they are not prepared now to listen to the homily preached by Mr. Amery the Secretary of State for India with regard to "the fact that India can boast of an ancient civilization and of a long history common to all its people of which all Indians are equally proud...." It is but natural that having played a disgraceful part in interpreting and presenting the historical facts in a manner that tended to create a division in the minds of the people of this country the Britishers are not listened to when now they try to interpret the history in a different way. Mr. Jamil-uddin Ahmed says in the same book—"It therefore passes one's understanding as to which is that history

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which Mr. Amery regards as Common to all peoples of India. The truth of the matter is that almost all the victories and defeats in the long annals of Hindu Muslim relations in India overlap. The victory of one has been the Defeat of the other; the hero of one is the villain of the other. The Muslims came into this country as conquerors and ruled it for well nigh eight hundred years. The traces of their rule are still to be found in various parts of the country. Their administrative traditions have left a deep impression on the British administrative system prevailing in India today. They have every reason to feel proud of their contributions to the progress, developments and prosperity of the peoples of India as a whole. The present generation of Muslims have inherited from their forbears their administrative genius and abilities as also their traditions of just, impartial and beneficent rule". The above is the ideology of the Muslims as represented by the All India Muslim League.

Yet there is another section of Pakistanis who draw their inspiration from across seven oceans in England. Their leader is one C. Rahmet Ali who styles himself as founder president of Pakistan National movement and has established his headquarters in England for the sake of Pakistan propaganda. This Founder President of Pakistan national movement has symbolised himself for hatred towards India. What his movement aims at can better be understood from a quotation from his pamphlet—Mullat of Islam and the menace of Indianism—published by the Pakistan national movement 16, Montague Road, Cambridge. He says

in that pamphlet, "we all know that at the moment our only central institution is the All India Muslim League which was founded at a time when we foolishly linked our fate to "India". But we must admit that now when we wisely want to sever our ties with 'India' and seek our future in Asia, it has become an anachronism and a fatal one at that. For its very name bears the stamp of "Indianism" and so belies our struggle against 'Indianism', Worse. It breeds the spirit of 'Indianism' and then betrays our Millat to 'Indianism'. Let us not minimise the effect and importance of names. They are the distinguishing marks, and as such establish the intention of their bearers. More than that they are the moral symbols and as symbols the sources of inspiration. To be true of individuals and of institution they must reflect their spirit; otherwise they reject their being. This, in a word, is their philosophy, we believe in it. That is why we turn to our saints and sages for the names of our children, of our houses and of our estates. How I wish we had done the same, when we acquired our strongholds and founded our institution, in the sub-continent. For had we done that, many a failure and frustration would have been avoided; many a danger and difficulty not have arisen at all. This mistake has certainly cost us dear. It has compromised our nationality, labelled us as 'Indian'. I say this, not because there is any wrong with the word "Indian" which in itself, is as respectable as any other name; but because we are not 'Indian' and therefore, for us to style ourselves or our institutions as 'Indian' is nothing but an act of renegation. The truth is that it was realization of this fact that ins-

pired me to name in 1932, the five north western strongholds, Pakistan; in 1937 Bengal and Assam, Bung-i-Islam; and Hyderabad—Deccan, Usmanistan. Again it is very same realization that now impels me to submit that, if we really wish to rid ourselves of 'Indianism' to re-establish our nationhood as distinct from 'India' and to link our national domains to one another as south Asiatic countries we must scrap the All India Muslim League as such and create instead an alliance of the nations of Pakistan, Bangal and Usmanistan. For this alone would set the final seal on our separation from 'India', inspire the Millat, and impress the world as nothing else could. That done we would have stood the test and made the choice, we would have achieved the supreme unity of purpose, plan and effort in our strongholds and given a new birth to our sacred cause in South Asia. And then inspired by the solemn conviction in our historic mission and united under the 'crescent and stars' we would carry through our fight to final victory. Hazrat! This is the only road to our destiny in Asia under Islam. Pray Allah we may take it while yet there is life—and light".

Conclusion

Thus we see from the aims, ideals and practice of the three premier political organisations in the country how the political situation in the country obtains. There is no doubt that of the three, Congress is approaching the national ideal, but its weak-kneed policy and bashfulness in dealing frankly and boldly with the Muslims has exasperated the other nationals in the country. The Hindu Mahasabha with

It aims at the evolution and growth of one single nation in Hindusthan. It does not agree with the haphazard Congress policy of manufacturing a nation by means of compromise, pact or agreement. It does not take into account nor believes in independence of the country on the foundation of unity of two nations. It does not approve of the anxiety for achieving Swaraj by sacrificing the fundamentals of a nation. It does not agree with the Hindu Mahasabha in excluding the followers of Islam and christianity in the country from Hindu Nation. It asks the Hindu followers of Islam to think coolly and dispassionately whether it is not a fact all over the world that change of religion does never mean a change of nationality. It believes in demolishing the psychology that has been brought about insidiously that the Hindu and Muslims are two different groups of people. It does not recognise Hindus as a religious group of people as there is no such thing as Hindu religion. There are hundreds of religions in Hindu nation and the Hindus may even follow Islam and christianity without having the ignominy of forsaking their nation. It warns the people to take note of the British policy of tickling religious passions in the name of religious neutrality and beseeches the British people to take their hands off from encouraging the development of more than one nation on religious denominational basis. It asks the Muslims to shed of their inferiority and fear complex and regard themselves as common nationals along with other Hindus. If the Muslims were to realize the real fact about their nationality, they would at once feel ashamed of the role which

is being played by their leaders and they would not only occupy the rightful place within the Hindu nation but they would be the champions of the national cause and would always remain in the vanguard of the national movement. Their's would not be the first instance of the kind. Parsees have set a noble example before them to emulate. Then there are so many religions in the Hindu society even in its narrow scope. These religions differ from one another as poles asunder yet they are all accommodated in Hindu Society and their followers are called by one common word 'Hindu.' Buddhism was the first religion that doubted the existence of God and differed from the prevailing Sanatan (old) religion of the land. Jainism was another revolter that cut off its allegiance completely from the Sanatan Dharma so much so that a proverb runs even up to this day that even though a Sanatani might run the risk of being trampled down by a mad elephant in the Jungle he should not go to a Jain temple to save his life. The principles of Vaisnavism are diametrically opposed to those of shaktism. Sikhism, Aryaism and Brahmoism each has its own philosophy which differs from the other religions in some respect or other. Yet all of them have their honoured place in the Hindu Society. Of late due to want of coherent national policy on the part of the government of the country some of these religions have developed a tendency towards sectarianism and even gone to the length of demanding a seperate colour in the national flag. But essentially the followers of all these religions, though differing amongst themselves like anything are Hindus and they are recognised and spoken of as such. No

body has even thought of as to how the followers of so many religions diametrically opposed to one another are termed as Hindus. The foreign invaders who incidently happened to be muslims by faith and who when first invaded this country distinguished themselves from the residents of this country by calling them Hindus about whom they carried the notion that all Hindus had one heathenish religion. Unfortunately after their conquest of this country the name given by them was universelly recognised and adopted and although there was no such religion as 'Hindu' the people fell into the habit of speaking of Hindu Dharma. This term Hindu Dharma covered people of all castes and communities of those days although neither the giver of the name nor those who adopted the name knew its full connotation. It has thus come about to denote what was never nor is ever in existence, that is, the Hindu religion. But what was originally thus applied to the residents of this country so uncertainly has been so seriously owned and adhered to by the people of this country that a section of the people of this country who subsequently adopted the religion of invaders are excluded from the scope of this term 'Hindu'. The fun of the matter is that more the orthodox section of people the more they are jealous to safeguard the narrow bound of Hindu fold. It is apparent that when so many religions of divergent philosophies can have place in Hindu society there is no reason why two more Islam and christianity cannot be accommodated in Hindu fold. But the greatest obstacle is apprehended from the side of caste ridden orthodoxy. If the citadel of caste in the Hindu

orthodoxy is conquered the evolution and the growth of the Hindu nation will be an accomplished fact. Thus the Hindu Rashtra Mission Sangh has the double object of demolishing the caste barriers in the present Hindu society and widening its scope to include the followers of Islam, Christianity and others who are not included in Hindu Nation due to the narrow connotation of the word 'Hindu' at present. Although it has been found that there has been no discouraging response from even the Mohamedans of Muslim League brand there has been some amount of hesitation from even the Congressite Hindus in applying the word Hindu for the Muslims. This has been very much due to the soft and placating mentality that has been created and fostered by the Congress method of always suing for peace at the sacrifice of fundamentals of nationalism. This soft condition of mind has made the great national leaders incapable of speaking out the truth so much so that the most heinous of offences, the treason against the mother country is tolerated lest the truth may offend the dear muslim brethren. The whole general psychology has been vitiated. The Hindu followers of Islam suffer from inferiority complex and they have never been given the right lead in the matter by even the great national organisation so that the Hindu Muslims began to think of themselves as the Congressite Hindus would flatter them to be. This has gone so far that more than the Muslims themselves, the Congressite Hindus would get startled at the very mention that the Muslims of this country are Hindus. Even on being explained the truth of the fact they would cringingly urge for adopting 'Hindustani' as the common nomenclature for

the people of this country for the reason of their over anxiety for not displeasing the Muslims. But the fun of the matter is that when the Muslims are confronted with the truth of the historical facts they are themselves not inclined to disown their Hindu nationality. This point of substituting 'Hindustani' for 'Hindu' has been so seriously urged that it would not be out of place to clear up the matter. In the first place there is no reason why the Hindus should hesitate to call the Hindu Muslim 'Hindus' and the Muslim should fight shy of asserting themselves as 'Hindus'. It is a bare truth based on the facts of the History. Secondly, if the word 'Hindustani' is adopted as the Common nomenclature and not 'Hindus' then the term 'Hindus' would continue to denote in its narrow sense only the present day Communal Hindus connoting a religious group of people. This would help to perpetuate the parallel nations of Hindus and Muslims and the two nation psychology will remain in tact and flourish, whereas by assimilating all people of this country under one 'Hindu' nomenclature a psychology will be created which will be a bulwark against all attempt to disintegrate this great nation. By bringing about this psychology no one suffers. The truth of the historical facts is recognised and the parties concerned raise themselves to the majestic height of reality whence their credit will redound to the everlasting glory of their progeny.

Another pertinent point that has been suggested is as to what is the harm if the evolution and growth of the nation is fostered under its present name of

'Indian' as adopted by the great national Congress. The same answer which is with regard to the word 'Hindustani' covers this question as well. Besides, the word "Indian" is an English one and the vast bulk of people do not call themselves by that name nor do they understand what is meant by it. The result is that the tendency on the part of the people to call themselves 'Hindus' and "Musalmans" without calling themselves Indians will remain as usual. The Hindus and Muslims have flourished under the blessing of the congress and even upto today the leaders are in the habit of emphasising the importance of the two on parallel lines in season and out of season. The Indian National Congress recognises the two and at the utmost asks them to behave well. The Indian National Congress allows them to preserve their separate entities and only requires them to come to agreement for obtaining Swaraj. Have not the Indian National Congress and its leaders been responsible to a great extent for fostering and encouraging the psychology of two nations? The Hindu Rashtra Mission Sangha would give them no quarter and appeal to the people of this country to recognise the truth and the reality about the great 'Hindu' nation and even appeal to the Indian National Congress to change its name to 'Hindu National Congress' so that there may be no scope for any such body as the 'Hindu community' to match themselves against the 'Muslim community' or 'Hindu Nation' versus 'Muslim Nation.'

But there is one very much vexed question of culture and civilization. The followers of Islam in

this country have been encouraged to own and foster in many aspects the 'forms' and 'matter' of culture of Arabia. This has become one of the outstanding problems for settlement, the solution of which has baffled the minds of our great leaders. Here, too, a very clear and unequivocal statement is necessary. There is no doubt that although the different nations have their own culture and standard of civilization there is no part of the world today which can claim to have something like exclusive culture. The world is so intermingled and intertwined that each of its part is indebted to the other for something which may be of universal value. Which part of the world will reject the advantages of scientific inventions on the score of its origin outside its own national boundary? Who is there who at the time of need will refuse to invoke the aid of Mahatma Gandhi's invention? In spite of his dislike for Mahatma Gandhi and all that he stands for, Mr. Jinnah would at the time of need for coercing the government invoke the aid of non-violently filling the Jail if his demands are not conceded. No body has heard Mr. Jinnah threatening the Government with bombs, pistol or even lathi. Rather recently he threatened government that if the government would yield to Congress demand it will have to fill jails with Muslims. Although we have taken much from the Arabian or so-called Islamic culture it is no use asserting late in the day that Arabian culture has a claim to bifurcate the Hindu Nation in the name of religion. Islam in China or Turkey is not making people of those countries forsake the essentials of their national life in order to accommodate something of

Arabian origin. Study of Kōran is necessary for the sake of religion who follow it. It may be even studied in original Arabic. But the study of Arabic is not necessary for people in general. Study of Bible is necessary for the Christians, but for that how many christians of Europe study Bible in Hebrew—the language of Jesus christ? The Musalmans should take a lesson from the Hindu Christians as to how to propagate their religion compatibly with the sense of nationality. Hindu Christians have not generally adopted the European names in the name of religion and they propagate their religion in the languages of this country. Hindu followers of Islam can take a lesson from them even in the matter of keeping their names. This change in psychology can go a great length in settling the vexed question of culture. Besides the evolution of one nation and creation of a psychology of one 'Hindu Nation' in place of 'Hindu religion', one important aim of the Hindu Rashtra Mission Sangh is to make religion a subject of study and realization for the elevation of human souls. It is this sphere of activity in which the true significance of the Hindu Rashtra Mission Sangh lies. How religion has been utilized as a political mask to divide the nation can be better shown by a quotation from Mr. Jamil uddin Ahmad's book 'The Indian Constitutional tangle' in the following words:—"Islam is not a mere religion in the western sense—a matter of private relationship between the individual and his god or gods. Islam is a complete philosophy of life, a social polity and a State Concept, governing every aspect of human life, individual and collective. The Muslims have

awakened to their cultural, political and national self-consciousness, while they do not mean to do the slightest harm to any one else. They have developed the will and are determined to have their own territory, homeland and state where they can develop and build up their own social, cultural, economic and spiritual life according to their own ideals and genius." No comment is necessary as to what the Islam stands for in India according to the section of people representing the above ideology. There can be no more frank denunciation of the function of religion as a matter of private relationship between the individual and his god. The Congress out of weakness and the Hindu Mahasabha out of foolishness have conceded to the above assertion with regard to this aspect of Islam. The British people who have their own axe to grind nod their head to everything which help the solidification of religious groups in this country. With them the case is of more the merrier. If the Sikhs, the Christians, the Parsees, the Arya Samajists, the Jains, the Buddhists and the Brahmos each were to demand a homeland and a territory the British people would not tell them 'no.' They have only to agitate and back up their demand with the creation of more and more points of distinctions with them so that there may be no mistake in marking them out as a separate and distinct nation. If a certain section of Hindu Muslims are still governed by the Hindu Law of inheritance then they must be encouraged to adopt Arabian Law of inheritance in the name of religious uniformity. The Congress must also say 'Ameen' to all such disruptive move because congress can

never stand in the way of 'religion' of Musalmans. Hindu Mahasabha must remain aloof because it offends against their principle to allow the Muslims to come under their sway. Under the circumstances it is imperative that all the disruptive tendencies in the people must be checkmated even though they might be masquerading under the cover of religion. Religion is religion. If Islam is a religion it is so. How it can become something over and above that? What is the sense in saying that it is not a mere religion in the western sense? What is the meaning of religion in Eastern sense? Where does West end and from where does East begin? Perhaps in the East Turkish Fez is an emblem of Islam and to wear it is a part of religion. But in Turkey itself it was banned by late Ata Turk Kamal. Similarly Arabic script is regarded as a part and parcel of Islamic religion in India but it has been abolished from the land of Khalifa by the late Ata Turk. If Turkey can refuse to be tag end of Arabia and build up its own nationalism why should the Hindu followers of Muhammad be so blind as not to distinguish their own nationalism from Arabianism. A Japanese is a Japanese whatever religion he may chose to follow. A Chinese is a Chinese whatever may be his religion. Their nationality never changes even though they may change their religion ten times. It passes one's comprehension how a Hindu is transformed into a different nationality if he choses to follow the faith preached by prophet Mohammad. How does it become incumbent upon a Hindu to love the desert of Arabia if he believes in the philosophy of religion of Koran?

It is equally as much necessary for the Hindus to know and assimilate it into his belief that a Hindu does not cease to be a Hindu if he choses to follow Koran or Bible instead of Veda, Puran or other religious scriptures of Hindustan. It has become a habit and a nature with the Hindus to think of Hindu nation and the imaginary Hindu religion in identical terms. They cannot comprehend that a Hindu can follow Islam and Christianity and remain a Hindu. Like that school of Islam which believes that religion in Eastern sense means not a mere religion but every possible and conceivable adjunct that goes to make a compact nation. Veer Savarkar's school of thought also corresponds very much to the same. For according to Veer Savarkar "Hinduism, Hindutva and Hindudom is a collective name for the Hindu world just as Islam denotes the Muslim World". Unfortunately both these two sections of people predominate the religious thought of people and are responsible for dragging religion to political, social and other spheres to suit other purposes. It is of paramount importance to make religion free. The caste compactments in which the Hindus are moulded and which are made the basic principles of Dharma and which again are responsible to make the mind of Hindus narrowbound and keep the Muslims apart from claiming the same nationhood with the Hindus, must be discarded once for all and put down mercilessly. But unfortunately the ungodly caste system has also come to be recognised as a part of religion. Similarly there are thousand and one thing which are regarded blindly and foolishly as part of religion whereas the study of pure religion

is relegated to oblivion. If the spirits of the founders of great religious philosophies were to come down to this earth and see for themselves as to how the defenders of their faiths are discharging their trust they would surely weep in agony. The Hindu Rashtra Mission Sangh undertakes to preach for the extrication of religion from the mire of worldiness and restore it to its pristine purity. It is asked even though the truth aimed at by the Hindu Rashtra Mission Sangh is admitted how does it help to solve the immediate national tangle? The answer is that although it does not offer any immediate solution it is such a remedy that if the intelligensia in the society grasps the true significance of it, the whole disruptive movement of Pakistan and separate nation theory will lose the ground from underneath their stand and the nation will march on the path of progress before which all the difficulties will evaporate like the mist in the thin air. If the great national organisation were to change its name into Hindu National Congress and incorporate the task of Hindu Rashtra Mission Sangh in the list of their constructive programme the progress of national fusion and evolution would be an accomplished fact within a short time and hasten the dawn of political emancipation of the country. Let us hope and pray that the days of compromise, pact, and unity are past and an era of national fusion and evolution has dawned. May the Hindu Rashta Mission Sangh help the national fusion and solution of the national tangle.

II

NEED FOR A PURGE AND A DESPERATE REMEDY

The international situation created by the aggression of the Nazi and Fascist powers and the abject submission of the important democracies of Europe has diverted and absorbed the attention of our leaders. There is no doubt that there is some amount of our selfish concern in the events that are passing in Europe. But while our leaders appear to be interested in the international situation in Europe, they seem to be quite unconcerned with what is happening daily at home.

It seems that while the physicians are engaged in the search of a panacea, the condition of the patient is going from bad to worse. The question of Federation is hanging fire. Provincial autonomy is said to be working satisfactorily, but there are different points of view with regard to that also. The Britishers and the Extremist Indians, though with different outlooks, feel alike that the game as intended is bearing its desired fruit, while the Congressmen are inclined to think that in the troubled circumstances of the country, it is a good respite for consolidating the position.

The Muslim Complex

And the Muslim League under the leadership of

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Mr. Jinnah is getting impatient under the feeling that Muslims are left behind uncared for. Their anxieties are still enhanced on account of their consciousness that all this while they have played a part that was not at all worthy of any claim to have a share in the coming power. It is this consciousness that is responsible at times for utterances on the part of some of their leaders who were far from the struggle, basking in the sunshine of the governments' favour that but for the sacrifice of the Muslims in the struggle of Satyagrah, the Congress would not have achieved what they have done. Their psychology more than their activities has reached a climax which can not now be ignored without grave danger not only to the present society but to the future of the Indian nation and the country.

The Present Impasse

The policy of bended knees and folded hands on the part of the Congress and the declaration in season and out of season that Swaraj cannot be gained without the help of the Muslims have tended to create a psychology in Muslims which can not be compared with anything that can be visualized in this world of reality. The British wizard who has been playing the game all along now poses to look at as an outsider and intervenes at times to administer first-aid to the wounded players at the game of communal riots. Mr. Jinnah, who had a golden opportunity to bring to light his spirit of nationalism and harness the youthfulness, the spirit of sacrifice and all the noble qualities with which the Muslim youths are

that give strength and sustain the band of few patriots who are destined to rule and evolve order out of chaos. The time has come when Congress should invite patriots under its banners and get rid of anti-nationalists. If those Hindus who cannot shed off their belief from caste system, untouchability and all kinds of beliefs that conflict with the civic rights of other sections of the Indian nation, they should quietly walk out of Congress. If those Muslims who cannot believe in the fusion of one nation by a "give and take" policy so far as matter of culture is concerned and those who believe in the existence of a separate Muslim nation with tendencies for Pan-Islamism or world Brotherhood of Islam or those who are not prepared to take lesson even from the nationalism of other Islamic countries of the world, should similarly remain aloof. Of course, so far as the Muslims are concerned, they need not be told much. It is the Hindus mostly who are guilty so far as the chaotic condition of mind is concerned within Congress organisation. There are such horrible creatures in the Congress who, what to speak of Hindu Community or Congress may be said to be enemy of humanity. They are possessed of such bigoted ideas in the name of religion and their relation with other fellow beings is such that it can not be defended on any ground, much less in the name of religion.

Even such are the persons who work for Swaraj in Congress without realizing what would be their own fate if Swaraj were really established. But the wonder and pity is that these who are responsible for guiding the Congress do not realize how much

harm the presence of such men in Congress can render in creating an atmosphere of unreality in Congress and in engendering thoughts of suspicions and aloofness in the mind of others concerned. In my opinion, it is imperative that Congress should frame rules and regulations for the guidance and strict observance by its adherents in day to day life.

Any lapse from such observance should automatically disqualify a man to call himself a Congressman. The Congress is at the height of its glory at present due to Mahatmaji, when even one who is not in Congress longs to be a Congressman and the superiority of the Congress has brought about a complex of inferiority in others who have chosen to differ from it. This inferiority complex is again responsible for so many kinds of troubles. The Muslim Leaguers think that Congress is trying to establish a Hindu Raj and those of the Hindus who equally suffer from inferiority complex level the counter charge of establishing Muslim Raj by yielding too much to Muslim demands. Both these groups forget that the real trouble lies with them. None of them try to forsake the evils that are with them; rather they cling to those evils in the name of religion and culture and expect that Congress should not only forsake its own goal but should help each of them in their own nefarious plans.

Non-Congress Organisations

For instance, I saw one day some Hindus abusing Congress and Congressmen in filthy language for not helping the agitators of Shiva Mandir Satyagrah. If

Shiva Mandir Satyagrah is a vital thing for Hindus, why donot they accomplish their object without looking up to the Congress for any help? If the Hindus feel their duty in that matter who stands in their way? Why should they expect Congress to put its hands in that matter? The real thing is that those Hindus who are outside Congress, inspite of their number, have no grit. They are that class of Hindus who have lived a life of ease engrossed in the humdrum business of life, who have never contributed by action towards the organised life of the community and have lived like parasites enjoying the fruits of the sacrifice of that section of the Hindu Community who are in Congress. Like a lazyman, they are in the habit of keeping their eyes on the earning of others. After all, the number of Hindus who feel religiously are more outside the Congress, then why do not they show their mettle? But, no, they must abuse the Congress for their own failings.

The Leaguers.

Similarly the Muslim Leaguers must transform India into their dreamland of Arabia. If this object is not within view, then the Congress Ministry must be damned and every sort of trouble must be created for the Congress to yield. There is absolutely no national outlook. Everything in India must be looked at from the point of view of Arabia, Persia, Turkey or Iraq. As a matter of fact India must be parcelled out and so prepared that if in course of time some adventure like Herr Hitler from any of these Muslim countries takes into his head to deliver India from

the tyranny of her own people, like the Sudetens they may be in readiness to welcome him. The demand of recognition of Muslims as a nation must be conceded first and then as a logical consequence some territory should be provided by parcelling out India into different zones. If this is not done, then thousand and one pretexts will be found out for fomenting violent troubles. If you deprecate violence and urge for application of nonviolence in the settlement of mutual differences, then Quran is quoted in aid of violence. Imaginary grievances are brought in for the pretext of resorting to violence. And the climax is reached when in support of such conduct, responsible legislators would speak that most of the stab wounds during riots are inflicted upon the muslims. From the experience of my own town of Bhagalpur, I can say that out of 30 stab wounds, 28 were on the persons of Hindus. I dont mean to say that Hindus are incapable of inflicting stab wounds. They are also guilty of blackening the face of Hindu culture by resorting to such black deeds as attacking unarmed passers by including women and children. But the saving grace with the Hindus lies in the fact that responsible leaders who count anything have always denounced such horrid things in strongest language possible, whereas no Muslim worth anything has opened his mouth against such actions that degrade the civilization and is in itself a blot to the culture in whose name they are enacted. On the other hand, I have heard responsible leaders holding out threats that if any such untoward things happen, they would not share the responsibility hinting thereby to the hooligan section of the people to resort to their own methods. The implications of

such speeches can be easily understood. It is under these circumstances that congress has undertaken to work out the Parliamentary programme under the Government of India Act in the provinces. It is being daily demonstrated especially in Congress governed provinces that the Ministers are not coping with the task of maintaining law and order. What is the remedy?

A Suggestion.

In the first place I would suggest that the Congress should demand from Muslim Leaguer a declaration of the acceptance of the principle of nonviolence in the matter of settlement of any communal question. If this be not forthcoming, then Mahatmaji should ask the Viceroy to give active help in suppressing those leaders and their movement who would preach and foment violence. If the British people who have long been responsible for sowing the seed of this communal trouble are not sincere even now, then let the Provincial autonomy be thrown at their face. They can not plead innocence. They may say that Muhammedans wanted separate electorate but what about christians? The communal award for which even Mahatmaji had to fast unto death is surely a piece of crooked diplomacy which to the ill luck of India may not so appear to Mr. Jinnah but the Viceroy may put his hand on his heart and may feel if it beats like that of an innocent man. There is no escape from the result of past misdeeds and if we have to suffer, let the suffering come sooner so that after the period of suffering the bright days may hasten earlier.

I mean by throwing the provincial autonomy at the face of the Britisher not that Congress should allow the toadies and flunkies to capture the office and victimise over the politically independent minded people. For once at least the Congress should make both the Muslim League and the British people realize the consequence of the lesson they have learnt so long. Congress should withdraw from the Parliamentary activities and should leave the offices to be captured by the extremists. Of course, it goes without saying that on the basis of separate electorates, as it exists, the communalists must come from the side of the muslims just as they have come even now and from the side of the Hindus also. Congress refraining, noly the communalists would come.

sation train people how to exercise votes and even though refraining from actively taking part in election and formation of cabinets may rouse a true sense of responsibility in the people in the matter of casting votes which may keep away toadies and flunkeys from capturing office and at the same time send capable men from among the non-Congressmen who may have at least the grit to hold against the British and the rabid communalists. In short, Congress should once allow the Hindu Ministries to be formed as against the Congress at present so that a phase of fight that has been attempted by the Congress to skip over may be gone through and the parties concerned may grip the realities.

III

An Aggravation of the Communal Virus

Perhaps one would not come across a more amazing story even in the famous fables narrated by Aesop than what some of the muslim leaders in their wisdom have thought fit to give currency to. The object of making bird and beasts to speak and act is to derive some moral lesson out of the fable. But even a fabulist would think twice before adopting such doubtful stories for deriving any moral from the historical events as has been attempted by some of the Muslim politicians by painting the Turks, the Mughals, the Persians, the Arabs and the Afghans as forefathers of our 80 millions of the present day Indian Muslims. When the late Maulana Shaukat Ali, while addressing a public meeting, prided on the fact of the Muselmans having ruled in India for 700 years, I happened to ask him if the forefathers of the present day Indian Muslims ever ruled in India. There was faltering and an attempt to make a reply like the school teacher trying to convince his pupils that even tigers, Jackals, bulls and snakes can hold conversation. Maulana Shaukat Ali was not generally taken seriously when indulging in such fantastic stories but when a responsible man like Sir Syed Raza Ali resorts to saying that it is wrong to say that Muselmans in this country were a minority

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and that they did not care a straw when they first invaded it, it takes away our breath. He would not stop there and would make it clear that at no time the number of Muslim invaders was more than 50 thousand and that the Indian Muslims must keep in view the traditions of their forefathers.

Poisonous History

It is high time that such abysmal ignorance of Indian History should be scanned and exposed so that the lesson of history might not be lost on our youths. One of the gravest wrongs that the writers of history of India during the British period have done is that they have chronicled the events with the set object of dividing the Indians and making them fit to be ruled. The history of the invasion of Arabians under Mir Qasim, of Persians under Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, of Moghels under Timur and Changaz Khan, of Afghans under Mahmud of Gazni and Mohammad of Ghore has been all described under one heading as the Musalmans' invasion of India. The arrangements of events, the method and style of writing have all been directed towards the fulfilment of the one and only aim so that when the young Indians of impressionable mind sitting side by side in the same class room, taking their lessons at the hands of the same teachers, go through this chapter of the Indian history, they are fired with different feelings and emotions from each other. One feels the pride that they were his forefathers who invaded India and enslaved the forefathers of his class-fellows while the other realizes the humiliation and

feels with bitterness the fact that his forefathers were conquered and enslaved by the forefathers of his fellow brother. But who does not know that both of them are descended from the same stock with only one difference that those who imbibed the religion of the victors are known today as musalmans and and those who resisted and did not adopt the religion of the invaders are still called Hindus ?

A Rajput by caste & Musalman by religion

In Bihar, there are villages and clans and so must be in other parts of India where Musalmans still retain the memory about the time and occasion of conversion of their ancestors to Islam and these are parallel families, one Musalman and the other Hindu, claiming their descent from a common ancestor who was converted to Islam by force of circumstances on certain occasion. It would not be out of place to mention here that the late Mr. Shamshad Ali Khan, I.C.S., who was father-in-law of the Hon'ble Mr. Choudhry Zafarullah Khan and who was District Magistrate of Bhagalpur for some time, was a friend of mine, about whom I know that he used to write with pride about himself as a Rajput by caste and Musalman by religion. In short, it is absurd to think that the present day Indian Musalmans are Arabian, Persian, Turk, Mughal or Afghan in origin or they ever conquered or ruled India. I am of opinion that any Indian Musalman with a grain of self respect in him should consider it defamatory to suggest that he is descended from any of the foreign invaders. Great philosophers and Philosophers of religion from any part of the world

may willingly be accepted and followed in any other part of the world and for the matter of that the change of nationality should not be made a corollary to the change of faith. No other nation of the world does like that. No doubt, the Hindus are at fault to a great extent in despising their fellow brethren for their change of religion over which most of them had no control. They have been atoning for that and it seems the atonement has not come to the point where it may be considered a sufficient propitiation for the sin of caste system and all that has made the present day Hindus incapable of realizing the ideal of nationalism. But this weakness of the Hindus should be no occasion for the Musalmans to disown their nationality. Rather it is a grand opportunity for the Musalmans to put themselves in the vanguard of the nationalist movement and capture the mind of the youths of the country irrespective of caste, colour or creed surging with the feeling of patriotism. The Musalmans more than the Hindus have got the perquisite qualifications to lead a nationalist movement provided there may come about a change in the angle of their vision. It is a pity and an irony that Musalmans who should have been leading the nationalist movement are seized with inferiority complex. The vision of even the greatest of them has become so much blurred that where they ought to have been weighed down under the sense of humiliation as to their connection with the foreign invaders, they feel a pride in that.

So far as the history goes, we know that Nadir Shah or as a matter of fact any invader who invaded India and sacked Delhi never spared the Musalmans. They shed as much

of Muslim blood as that of the Hindus and yet when a Drama was being once played by the students of the Patna College in which Nadir Shah was shown as a freebooter and a national enemy, the muslim students created a riot over that.

Better Forget.

Admitting even the truth of what Sir Syed Raza Ali says that at no time of the invasion of India by foreign Muslims their number exceeded 30 thousand then how does he account for 80 millions of present day Muslims. Does it stand to reason that 30 thousand or even 5 or 10 times of 30 thousand could breed and multiply to the present number of Muslims in India? Would it not be better to forget that Chapter of Indian history which stands to our everlasting shame? No body asks Sir Raza Ali to make a search for the descendants of those peoples who were carried away during the campaign of the Persian, Mughal or Afghan freebooters who along with the wealth carried away a large number of people of this country to convert them to Islam and make slaves of them. They are surely absorbed in the nationality of their master who carried them away. Will Sir Raza Ali not forget to make a search of the descendants of a few thousands who might have remained in this country and might have been equally absorbed by the overwhelming larger Muslim population of this country? A pursuit in the research of their pedigree cannot be useful either. A seasoned man of the type of Sir Raza Ali should view the present differences between Hindu and Muslim as a passing phase and should not have allowed

himself to have been carried away by the impulse of the moment to the length to which he did.

But what is the duty of Congress? This unbridled thought and language on the part of even intelligent section of the Muslims is due to the weak policy of Congress. The Congress has so allowed the Muslims to think and act like a pampered child that they are now on the point of ceasing to call themselves Indians. They have always felt greater affinity towards Arabians, Persians, Afghans and Turks than towards their fellow countrymen and the Congress has never put a ban on this. It were better to have no Muslim or even a few in the begining on the Congress register than to have a large number with no national feeling. After all what has been the result of the policy that Congress has been following towards the Muslims? The Muslims have become more and more communal and with the advance of spirit of nationalism in Hindus instead of decreasing the difference have increased it by gradually pitching the demand higher and higher till it has come to call itself a nation.

The Complex.

Uptil now I accused the Hindu Sabhites of suffering from inferiority complex and took pride in the superiority complex of the Congress. But whatever be the fault of the Communal Hindus, they counted very little in politics. The Hindus of the Congress were all in all. But there is a growing sense of desperation even in the Hindus of the Congress and but for Mahatma Gandhi there would have been schism on this question in the Congress rank long ago. There is no

doubt that the Congress policy with regard to the Muslims has totally failed. There may be a sprinkling of few Muslims here and a few there who take part in the Congress but I doubt how much even their outlook is thoroughly national. I have found on occasions these Muslims holding out threat to run away if this or that demand is not fulfilled. It has become the normal condition of a Muslim mind to look up to any Muslim Country of the West with a feeling of affection and regard which to the credit of Hindus cannot be said of them in respect of any country in the east even at the time of stress. Such being the mental condition of the Muslims, no amount of tinkering and patching would do now. A declaration of clear cut principles of nationalism is now required. The time has come when the delay will be more dangerous. It may be that even bigoted Hindus may run away from the Congress and reactionary Muslims may become more inimical. The Congress may appear for the time being forlorn and forsaken, but it is sure to gather strength in course of time. On the other hand, persistence in the old method of pulling on with Caste ridden bigoted Hindus and attempt to cajole, coax and flatter the Muslims will land the Congress more and more into difficulty with the ever increasing demands of Muslims on the one hand and reactionarism of the Hindus on the other.

By adherence to the strict principle and policy of nationalism, the Congress is expected in no time to capture and organise all the nationalistic forces without any distinction of caste, creed or colour. Religiously intoxicated people will be thrown in the back ground, for they are wanting in the spirit of progressiveness

which distinguishes a patriot. Reactionaries of both the Communities may by the efflux of time think over their folly and veer round in time. Let Congress be awakened in time.

IV

* From Akbar to Zafarullah

The other day Moulana Zafar Ali Khan while speaking in the Assembly on the resolution regarding appointment of a Committee to investigate into the rights of women, seized the opportunity to declare that Muslims are no longer a Community under the great Hindu Nation but they are a separate nation by themselves. As soon as a voice of protest came from Mr. M.S. Aney that they were not so, there was an uproarious scene and all the Muslim members joined in asserting that they were a separate nation. The separatist tendency has so much been worked up in the Muslims that it has reached its natural climax. Working on the policy of 'Divide and Rule' and following the principle of political science that when a foreign nation is put to the necessity for dividing another nation for perpetuating their own domination, it emphasises on the point of division in season and out of season so that the consciousness of being separate grows gradually till it assumes an irresistible form, our British masters have been emphasising on the importance of the word Muhammadans. The idea of Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan constituency has its origin in this policy. Although it is made to appear that it is in pursuence of the

* Taken from Koy's Weekly New Delhi dated 1.5.39
Contributed by the author.

policy of satisfying the Muslim but the real fact is that even if the Muslims were to repudiate in such matters, the British people would not leave the things to shape themselves according to the circumstances but would necessarily intervene to force down the unwilling throat the unwanted thing as they did in the case of the Indian Christians who did not want separate electorate.

It was from the very begining that the Indian National Congress also neglected to take notice of this insidious poison and rather positively helped this tendency on the part of the Muhammadans. Whatever might be the achievements of the Khelafat movement in the form of rousing political consciousness in the Muslim mass it goes without saying that the manner in which the movement was organised and worked by the Congress contributed a great deal in solidifying the Pan-Islamic ideas in the Indian Muslim. It would not be an exaggeration to say that not only the political consciousness thus roused was of no use to the nation but it went a great way in helping the disintegration and feeling of separation in the Indian Nation. I remember in those days of Khilafat agitation when as a humble worker of the Congress I observed this horrible tendency I brought the matter to the notice of Babu Rajendra Prasad who simply told me that it was a delicate question and we should remain silent. The Khilafat Committee was allowed to work on parallel lines with the Congress and though Musalmans were working shoulder to shoulder with the Hindus so far

the Congress was concerned, they never forgot to cry "Allah ho-Akbar" when cry of "Bande Matram" was raised. Although to the credit of late Moulana Shaukat Ali, it must be said that he used to take to task the audience whenever they cried "Maulana Shaukat Ali ki Jai" along with "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai." The fact remains that Muslims must have a parallel cry. There were Khilafat Volunteers, Khilafat flags, Khilafat Muthia and Khilafat Panchayat as against all of these in the Congress. The feeling of rivalry reached its climax when the Khilafat workers would try the same case in their Panchayat which was already disposed of by the Congress Panchayat. It was at this stage that I sounded the danger of such move to Babu Rajendra Prasad and suggested that if Khilafat was to be the main item in our programme, it were better if the Congress under its aegis were to raise one crore of funds and send three fourth of it in aid of Turkey and retain only the rest for the internal organisation of the congress in the country. That would have been the achievement of the Indian Nation as a whole and Turkey and Kamal Pasha might have better appreciated the Indian contribution, and India too might have got an opportunity to consolidate her nationals. But one of the Himalyan blunders has been committed and Mahatma Gandhi had to reap the consequence in the humiliation that was meted out to him at the round table conference in London. A delicate question of the day, if not attended to in time, becomes a hard fact in course of time.

But let us examine the Muslim contention of being called a nation. Only up till few months before, the Muslims

were and called themselves part and parcel of the great Indian Nation. Is it not that since coming into power of congress in some of the Provincial Governments some muslim bodies have lost their sleep and appetite and under the organisation of the Muslim League are giving currency to fantastic ideas? Is it possible and plausible that for the fact of some real or imaginary grievances a nation can be made overnight through the ingenuity of a few persons who must be recognised, negotiated, compromised with and satisfied? It is worth while for the champions of the cause of a particular culture and civilization to think that riots are a very poor contribution to humanity in comparison with the technique of truth and non-violence. They cannot make a nation in a hot headed condition of their mind and undo in a moment the agelong established notion of a nation. In America, the Indians including Muslims as residents of Hindusthan are called Hindus irrespective of any communal denomination in India. In Arabia where they go for Haj the Indian Muslims are called Hindus, meaning residents of Hind. It is only here in India that the hatred for the word Hind, Hindi and Hindu has been so worked up that they get stuck up in the throat of a Muslim and they not only forsake these words but have now come to call themselves a separate nation as distinct from Hindus. The idea of carving out Pakistan, of being called the descendants of foreign invaders, and of being rulers and conquerors of India are necessary corollaries. The Assembly Chamber looked like a veritable museum at the scene created over the claim

of muslims to be a nation which the European members looked on with some amount of satisfaction, and the occasional smile on the face of Sir Reginald Maxwall, the Home Member of the Government of India, was something really very significant. That a Britisher can be so simple that he was unconscious of the mischievous results of the policy followed by his countrymen is far beyond the comprehension of any man who has even least to do with politics, except of course, the Muslim politicians. Sir Maxwell and his British colleagues sit in the House not only as members of the Government of India but as agents of his country men who are self appointed guardians and trustees of Indians. What did his laugh signify? Was he satisfied with the scene that was created? That days sitting of the Assembly was important in more than one way. While declaration by the Muslim members on the floor of the Assembly Chamber that they no longer were part and parcel of the Indian nation was a source of secret satisfaction to the members of the holy band of trustees, the Government of India itself declared simultaneously an important change in its policy giving a go by to erstwhile theory of individuality of the State. Uptil now no member of the Viceroy's Cabinet to whatever caste creed or colour he belonged to, was allowed to identify himself with the politics or policy of any party, caste, creed or religion. This important principle was thrown to the four winds when Sir Muhammed Zafrullah Khan protested on behalf of the Muslims against some aspersion made by Mr. Bhullabhai Desai. Government members have been known to have possessed strong views on

some of the communal subject matter discussed in the Assembly chamber but in the expression of their views they so put the matter that it seemed that they dealt with the matter from the Government point of view and it was generally taken to be so. But the innovation made by Sir Muhammed Zafullah Khan was an assertion of certain fact on behalf of the Muslim community although he stood in the House in the capacity of a representative of an irresponsible Government but he was not in the House a representative of the Muslim community on whose behalf he protested. But some of the elected Muslim members of the House made it clear that every Musalman is first a Musalman and then anything else. Sir Muhammed Zafullah accepted the statement by his silence. If his theory is accepted in case of a member of the Executive Council of the Governor General, it does not stand to reason why it should not be accepted and encouraged in case of humbler people. If the Muslim Constable who shot a Hindu Youth on some flimsy ground in communally surcharged atmosphere of Cawnpur, he has stronger reasons to urge in his favour than what the advocate of Sir Zafullah can advance. If a person of the education and position of Sir Zafullah cannot divest himself for the time being of his Islamic personality in favour of a duty which requires a non communal and non-religious outlook in the discharge of public duty in a State composed of people of different creeds and religions, then a constable's sense of duty can more be imagined than described. And this is an exhibition of a state of mind in the year of grace of our Lord Nineteen

Hundred and thirty nine when Europe in the name of national civilization and nationalism is throwing to the four winds all cannons of morality, Justice and fairplay while India under the rule of Premier European nation has advanced just the other way. When Elizabeth ruled England in the 17th century, she refused to marry lest her subjects might suspect that she had Roman catholic or Protestant tendency according as she may chose her consort. Just at the same time when Elizabeth was ruling in England, Akbar the great was ruling over the destinies of the people of India. It was three hundred years before the time of Sir Zafarullah and yet it was possible for Akbar to satisfy his subjects that he was neither a Hindu nor a Musalman by following a religion called Deen-i-Ilahi. Every student of Indian history knows how Akbar bent upon evolving a nation had tolerated even idolatry of his Hindu wife and thus showed the duty of a statesman who holds the destiny of a nation in his hands. Will Sir Maxwell, instead of smiling over such incidents in the Assembly chamber, answer the charge that it is the British rule of about 160 years in India that has brought about this irreconcilable attitude in the people. From Akbar to Sir Zafarullah has become a far cry. Whoever or whatever may be responsible for the state of affairs, it is high time that the people of this country should take note of such incidents and cry halt to the mad race of communal frenzy. There has been enough of exhibition of communal passions in all the spheres of life so much so that the life of an Indian far from being an embodiment of finer elements of culture and civi-

lization to which the humanity has attained by this time, it is fast becoming a specimen of the worst kind of savage life. The British people also should not forget that what they are leaving for the posterity of India will do them no credit.

A Programme of Positive Activity

The Hindu-Muslim problem has baffled all solutions. No amount of coaxing, cajoling, flattering and even blank cheques has been able to accomplish anything. Mr. Jinnah must have his pound of flesh. The remedy applied by the Hindu Mahasabha that if Mr. Jinnah licks one foot of the British, the Hindus should lick both the feet to court the favour of the rulers is worse than useless, and betrays an woeful want of common sense. The Britishers are political people. They know that friendship with the Hindus can never be paying to them. They cannot afford to entrust any power in the hands of the Hindus who can set right everything against both the Britishers and the anti-national elements. The only natural course for them is to look to Mr. Jinnah and offer him attractive terms. Mr. Jinnah, too, most shortsightedly, feels flattered in becoming a shield in the hands of British imperialism. For temporary pelf and power he is out for bargaining. He demands 50 per cent of power with the British. He makes the British understand that the Britishers have nothing to part with from their own pocket. If the Britishers mean to stay in this land they can only do so with the help of the Muslims who are awfully afraid of the Hindus and who can under no circumstances make common cause with the Hindus, untill the Hindus are Hindus no more. There

is no such prospect of Hindus being Hindus no more. So coalition between the Muslim and the British is the only practical solution for establishing stable government in this country. The only hitch in this coalition is that while the Britishers want to utilize Mr. Jinnah as a shield to ward off the attack of Indian nationalism they don't want to make him too powerful either.

The atmosphere of non-violence created and fostered by Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress has made the Hindu leaders soft and dumbfounded and Hindu masses being leaderless and without any proper guide are unequal to meet the onslaught of the infuriated and organised Muslim mob. The result is the demoralization of the great Hindu people. In their hopelessness and helplessness, the Congress leaders still pin their faith in the exploded theory of the so-called Hindu-Muslim unity. The old Congress idea of Hindu Muslim unity is the greatest stumbling block in the path of Indian or Hindu Nationalism. All ideas of pacts, unity, compromise and similar things should be shunned for ever. All people who want the independence of this country, who regard themselves as the children of Hindusthan and call this land of Hindusthan their mother country, and who feel glory in her past history are Hindus irrespective of any religion that they might be following. The patriotic band of Hindus comprising people of different religious persuasions including even the followers of Mohamad and Christ, should present the people of this country with clear cut principles of nationalism and call upon them to come under their banner, or reject the offer and choose to be aliens. The Muslims of this country are not foreigners. They are all converts from

Hindu fold and they are called as Hindus by Americans and people of Arabia where they go for 'Haj' call them 'Hindus.' In no other country does change of religion imply change of nationality.

National Hindu Mission

As a constructive programme of first class importance a "national Hindu Mission" should be organised to bring round the vast mass of Muslim population under the banner of *Hindu nationalism* without any change of religion, and the same mission should work amongst the present caste Hindus to break down their castes and bring them up in line with nationalist Hindus. The mist round the word Hinduism should be cleared up. There is no such religion as 'Hinduism.' The word 'Hindu' signifies the idea of a nation, civilisation, culture or society, but never a religion.

The task is surely an uphill one, but at the present moment this is the only course that can undo all the work of 'distintegration and dismemberment' that the British people have fostered throughout their stay in this unhappy land. This Hindu mission may for the time being be threatened even with a civil commotion, but its solid foundation can never be shaken. The Congress policy of wait, watch and pray till unity, pact or compromise is achieved must be replaced by one of positive activity aiming at solid nationalism.

A Speech in the Assembly

Babu Kailash Behari Lal (Bhagalpur, Purnea and the Sonthal Parganas: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I stand to oppose this Finance Bill and, in doing so, I want to place some facts before the Government to consider, so that they may frame their policy in the future in such a way that it may not be said that they have blundered at the opportune moment. It has been the practice, it has, I may say, almost become the fashion to say—let us forgive and forget as we are now in a dangerous time. It sounds very well to say—Forgive and Forget—in such a moment. But before we think of “Forgive and Forget,” we should remember one thing, that even though we forgive and forget the past, at least we should remember what we are going to do in the future. Unless we do that, there will be no meaning in saying that we must forgive and forget and we should try to do something in a haphazard way, because we are in danger. It is always said that we should get rid of any mistrust, and Mr. Griffiths has made the same appeal to us just now. Even if we get ourselves rid of mistrust, how are we going to do things in the future? That is the problem before us. We are informed that Sir Stafford Cripps is coming to visit our country with a mission over which even this House is not today united, because we

have been hearing whispers from certain Benches, although we do not know what is in store for us, that we are not all united. I have given my thoughts to this problem of India. Although up till now this Government and most other people were treating this subject as a sort of a plaything, they are now confronted with the reality. It was quite an easy thing for the Government to follow the policy of divide-and-rule all this while. Even, now, when they are on the eve of making some announcement, and God alone knows whether it is in the interest of the people of this country or for their own purpose, they are following the same principle. But hoping that it is surely for the best of us all, we believe that there is some amount of sincerity now in making such an announcement. But we cannot yet know definitely as to how we are going to fare by this announcement.

The policy which has been the mainstay of this foreign Government in this country was that at every stage they followed the principle of divide-and-rule. Now that division has assumed such proportions that, though a thing of their own making, they are now perplexed how to manage the situation. They might now be trying to retrace their steps, but they have now reached such a stage that unless they think constructively and unless they retrace their steps in such a thorough way, they cannot now undo the mischief they have done throughout their stay in this country. If I may be excused of saying this, I may tell them at once that it will not pay them to pose as an injured and innocent man as they are at present behaving, because whenever they are confronted with the

national demand, the offer of 8th August is thrown at the face of this nation. It is all good to say that there is no unity in this land and that there is no compromise or pact of any kind amongst the people of this country; but may I ask, what the Government themselves have done in this direction? Was it not their duty to see that, during their long stay in this land, they ought to have at least tried to evolve a nation although they believed that the people were so hopelessly divided communally and otherwise? But what have they done? Instead of attempting anything to do away with these divisions, they have done just the reverse. It cannot be said that the British people were so simple and childlike and were so devoid of commonsense that they did not know what to do, or they did not think it proper to help the people to give up their differences or the differences that existed in this country were of such a nature that if they were encroached in any way, the division would still become more acute. They were not such a simple people; they knew all these things. As a matter of fact, people who are destined by God to rule other people know how to rule over them. And they knew it. Even then, they did not do anything to remove these differences; rather they acted otherwise. It may be that the people of this country were not so much politically-minded. Had they been politically-minded from the very beginning, there would not have been this spectacle of so many divisions in this country. But instead of trying sincerely and honestly to do away with those differences, they deliberately helped those differences. It is a historical fact. They cannot

suppress it and they cannot go against it. They cannot say that they are so simple and so innocent that they did not know these things at all. They knew this thing and every act of theirs was prompted by this policy.

Sir, I read an elementary book on politics in my B A. course which was written by some German author. He had written that when one nation wants to rule over another nation, it emphasises over the points of differences in season and out of season. Can we not infer from that what can be the meaning of Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan constituencies? Where is the word "Hindu"? Why was not the word "Hindu" used? Why was the word "Muhammadan" emphasised so prominently in season and out of season. When I mention this, I do not mean to say anything against my Muhammadan brethren. I have not the least intention to say anything against them. My Muhammadan friends should not take these remarks amiss. Surely, the word "Muhammadan" is very much dear to my Muhammadan friends and they cannot be blamed for that. But I ask my British friends, what is the policy underlying it? They cannot say that they are so innocent and so childlike and they cannot understand the implications of all these things. When I did put a question in this very House some time back and asked the meaning of Hindu water and Muhammadan water at the railway stations, I was laughed at. But there cannot be any water with Muhammadan tenets made soluble in it or Hindu tenets made soluble in it. There cannot be such water on God's earth. But still these things are

done by those people who are said to be imbued with a political sense. But I believe there have been attempts by our rulers also in this direction.

When I was the Chairman of the Bhagalpur District Board, a Government servant proposed to me that there should not be any holidays for the Musalmans at the time of the Dassehra or other Hindu festivals, and there should not be any holidays for the Hindus at the time of the Muharram and other Muhammadan festivals. I said that these festivals have become national festivals, and all persons, irrespective of caste or creed, should take part in them. So, it ought to have been the duty of the Government not to make these festivals communal festivals. I have already said, our rulers are not so simple. They are political people, and they have come to rule over this country. They could rise to their best sense of politics if they wanted to further the cause of this country and they could have made such a lot of improvement. So, even in these minor things I cannot exhaust the vocabulary. The Government have utilised the position in such a way that they have created divisions. One other example, I may quote. Even in the census, we are asked to declare our castes. With every census the castes increase hundredfold. Nobody even among the Hindus want that caste should be so much encouraged. I may narrate to the House how the rules are utilised to promote these caste divisions. In 1930, when the Congress was going to launch Satyagraha in Bihar, the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee printed forms in which particulars about names, fathers' names, castes were asked for. I opposed the

column of "caste," and I urged there was no necessity. Anyhow, the President ruled that it was necessary, and so it was retained, and it was made optional for anybody to write if he liked. A few days after that, the President had to get some property transferred, because it was in his name, and, before offering Satyagraha, he wanted it to be transferred. In the transfer deed, he forgot to mention his caste and the Registrar said: "You have omitted to write your caste." I reminded him of my argument against the inclusion of the column, caste, in the Satyagraha form and about his over-ruling me. Then he wrote in a fit of enthusiasm, "Bihari Hindu." But the Registrar said that would not do, because he had Government circulars to the effect that particular castes, like "Rajput, Brahman, Kayasth, etc.," should be mentioned. I submit, Sir, here I am "Kailash Behari Lal," or there is "Rajendra Prasad" if these names cannot be distinguished by father's name or place of residence, because there are ten persons of the same name in the same caste in the same village, how does caste help in bringing out the distinction? But here caste is emphasised. I do not know whether there is any secret code for the administration of this country in such matters. The people have been made so much conscious of these small things that they would not care for the interest of the nation. They would care more for the small community to which they belong. Now, Sir, things have come to such a pass that every caste or every community based on a religious group would claim to be not a part of the nation, but a

nation by itself. Of course, this is deplorable. This ought to have been seen long before by our rulers who claim to be a political people. It is not a thing of a day's making. It has been in the making for some time past.

Sir, we know the history of Pakistan. Our Muslim brothers claim to call themselves a nation. They were before long only a religious group, a religious community, and now they have become a nation. Naturally as a nation, they claim a homeland which even now our masters, the British rulers, shirk and shiver in their shoulders that this thing has happened unexpectedly. Attempts are being made to explain what this Pakistan means. Yesterday my Honourable friend, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, tried to explain that Pakistan does not mean anything but the right of the majority to enjoy this majority right in those provinces where they are in a majority. God knows what this distinction means. I have got a pamphlet in my hand written by Mr. C. Rahmat Ali, Founder President, Pakistan National Movement, which does not define Pakistan in the same way as my Honourable friend, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, described. This book is called: "The Millat of Islam and the Menace of 'Indianism.'" I think this pamphlet might have been sent to other Honourable Members also.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad : We know nothing about the author of this pamphlet, and so we are not responsible for its contents. He is not known to anybody in this House.

Babu Kailash Behari Lal : He is a Muslim gentle-

man. Surely, you do not suggest that this pamphlet was got up by the Hindu Mahasabha. The author blames not only the people of this country, but he blames even the Government for overlooking the claims of the Muslims. What is the fundamental creed of this pamphlet says :

“What is the fundamental creed” of the Movement ? It is that we are Muslim, not Hindu ; Pakistani, not Hindustani, and Asian, not ‘Indian’ ; that, in retrospect, the ‘India of today’ is the ‘South Asia of yesterday’, but in prospect, the sphere of the individual solidarity of several nations of tomorrow ; that, at present, ‘India’ is the arbitrary name of the British Empire in South Asia, but, in future, it will be the natural designation of ‘Indianism’, confined to its national home in India proper (Hindustan) ; that as this Empire is composed of several countries of South Asia, of which India (Hindustan) is only a minor unit, no system of government, whether inspired by the Gladstonian soul of British imperialism or by the Gandhian spirit of Indian nationalism, or by grasping capitalism of both, can ever succeed unless it recognises and guarantees, the distinct nationhood of the nations living therein ; and finally, that in so far as we are concerned, we will accept only that political solution which is based upon the aforesaid eternal verities—verities which inspire the “Creed of the Movement” and ensure the sovereign status of Pakistan, of Bengal and of Usmanistan”.

Of course, I welcome that my Honourable friends should denounce this pamphlet and its author. I

would rather wish that the whole principle of it is denounced. But I have quoted this as I apprehend that this has been growing gradually and slowly....

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan : Why is this idea growing? Have you ever thought of that. Diagnose that first?

Babu Kailash Behari Lal : This thought has been growing, because it has been fed on some wrong ideas. Whatever might be the grievance, and whatever might be the tyranny of a brother against another brother, that cannot lead the one to say that the father of the two brothers is not common, nor that the mother of the two is common. Whatever the grievances may be, whatever may be the grievances of the Muslims against the Hindus, the Muslims have begun to say "India is not our mother-land".

Some Honourable Members (from the Muslim League Benches) : No, no. We never said that.

Babu Kailash Behari Lal : I welcome that denial. I am merely basing my argument on this pamphlet. The thoughts of the Muslims are advancing by leaps and bounds, from a religious community they now claim to be a separate nation. The Muslims want to parcel out a portion of Hindustan. They do not want to call themselves residents of Hindustan! God knows what ideas they have got in their minds. I only hope that the day will come when you will denounce this Pakistan altogether, sooner or later.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan : I may point out that we are not going to denounce the Pakistan at all.

That is our creed. Pakistan means that Muslims are a nation and as a nation they want the North West corner of India and also the North-East corner of India to be their homeland.

Babu Kailash Behari Lal : I am afraid you have denounced in part some of your ideas, although you are not prepared to denounce Pakistan, and the fun of the thing is that most of you do not know even in your own minds what Pakistan means. I find there is so much confusion in your own minds.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman (Patna Chota Nagpur cum Orissa : Muhammadan) : What does the Honourable Member understand by Pakistan ?

Babu Kailash Behari Lal : As I read this book, all kinds of ideas are conjured up as regards Pakistan, the ideas are growing by leaps and bounds. I cannot fix what Pakistan means. But I can say that Pakistan means that certain portions of Hindustan, in which the Muslims form a majority, should be carved out into a homeland for the Muslims. I am not concerned so much for the well-being of the Pakistan of your imagination. I say this thing has come out of your imagination and it is surely detrimental to the well being of the national growth of this country. If I am wrong, it is better. I would rather welcome the day when you denounce it as we denounce it today. You must form part and parcel of the same nation to which we all belong.

My Honourable friend, Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan, asked me whether we have thought it as to why it

has come about. I have, of course, thought how this difference has come. It has come in a clumsy and unhappy way and now one section even disclaim their country and their nationhood. And I am blaming this Government for having helped this situation, because it is not a question of material grievance when this or that wrong has been done to one community. Such wrong are bound to remain so long as people live in this world. Today you talk of grievances among Hindus and Musalmans ; tomorrow, if power is given to Musalmans. there will be grievances among Shiahs and Sunnis. So if all people belong to one religion, there will be grievances among different families. So grievances will remain, but for that you should not disintegrate the nation in such a way. That can be remedied if we go to the root cause. The whole trouble has been brought about by the policy the Government have followed in this country. They have even tried to destroy history. They have written history in such a way that students of the same stock, sitting on the same benches and reading the same books, form different ideas. For instance, they write about the Muhammadan invasion of India. There has been Moghul invasion and Pathan invasion, Persian invasion and Arab invasion,—but no Mohammdan invasion. Mahmud of Guzni and Mohammad Ghorî were Afghans and Chengiz Khan and Babar were Moghuls, Mir Kasim was an Arab, and so on. So history would have been properly written if the nationality had been mentioned and students of any religion might have learnt that these were invaders and not their forefathers.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan : Has the Honourable Member read Bhai Parma Nand's History of India? If he has not, he must try and get it. He will find a remedy in that book.

Babu Kailash Behari Lal : History has been apoloised in that way in order to create different impressions in the mind of different people. They belong to the same stock and their forefathers were in same with the only difference that some of them adopted Islam and others followed the ancient religions of India. With that they did not change their race or nationality. But now even well educated persons, even Honourable Members of this House talk as if their forefathers ruled India for 700 years. It was the Mughals, Pathans or Persians who ruled this country, and they did as much injury to your forefathers as they did to those of the Hindus. Nadir Shah shed as much of Muslim blood in Delhi as Hindu blood; but when a drama was played in the Patna College by the students, in which Nadir Shah was shown as a villain, there was a riot over that. You can thus understand how the mind works. These people were foreigners. Of course, they settled down here and they became one with the people; but that was a different thing just as there are so many Christians from Europe who have settled here. They are ruling over this country, but by no stretch of imagination the Indian Christians can say that Queen Victoria was their great grandmother or King George V was their grandfather. No Tom, Dick or Harry who has been converted into Christianity from the stock of the people of this country will say that. It is

simply absurd to make that suggestion. And the Musalmans of this country should take it as an insult if any one suggested that these invaders were their forefathers. And it is in this way that the minds of the people have been poisoned and they have begun to think in separate terms about each other. This has been deliberately emphasised and given importance by our rulers. Let our rulers put their hand on their hearts and say whether they have not followed this policy of bifurcating the people. They can even now retrace their steps and declare once for all that they have changed their policy; otherwise no amount of tinkering and patchwork will do now.

Even in political and constitutional matters I charge this Government with having been insincere. For instance, the present Act of 1935, which is now being worked out on the basis of Federation has been brought into existence not to satisfy the demand of the people but to create one more mischief. Throughout that Act you find attempts made to sow the seeds of mischief that may bear fruit in course of time may disrupt the country still further. India did not require a copy of Europe in the matter of Federation. We had before our eyes the history of Europe which consists of so many small nations like our provinces in dimension and importance; and what a sad spectacle Europe is presenting today! They attempted through the League of Nations to form a Federation but they failed; it burst like a bubble, and there is no hope even for the future. Knowing all this, how could they suggest a Federation composed of the provinces with so much of importance of the

component unit and with an attempt to weaken the power of the Central Government? So long as India is in their hands they do not want to weaken the Central authority. But they have sown the seeds of mischief, so that if at all the provinces grow strong they may fight against each other. India required a unitary system of Government in which provinces should have sufficient opportunity to develop and grow but at the same time to remain under one strong Central Government. But what do we find even in the cry of Pakistan? It would mean disintegrating the Central power just as you are attempting to do. And the helplessness of the League of Nations which we are seeing today that is to be repeated in India in the course of time.

Maulvi Mohammad Abdul Ghani (Tirhut Division: Muhammadan) What about the United States?

Babu Kailash Behari Lal: I do not know. I have not made a special study of the United States. But, if at all there is, it is a misnomer.

So, even now this Government has time to beware. If they do not beware of the danger they have already created then if the situation develops itself, they should thank themselves and not the people of this country. If they are confronted with a difficult situation they should not bring up 8th August offer before the country and say: "Here it is. We are honest. You are all guilty. Patch up your quarrel and we are going to give you." This sort of argument will not do. They should go deep into mischief they have done and they should now retrace their steps. How-

ever, the question suggested by the Honourable friend, Sir Yamin Khan, was as to what is the remedy I suggest.

Of course what I am placing before this House look revolutionary at first sight, but it is not so revolutionary if you think over it and if our rulers might have thought over it some years before. I am going to suggest that in order to do away with this evil, you must conceive the idea of one nation and you should call it by one name. You cannot have different names for calling the nationals of one country. So what can be that one name. It will be, surely, astonishing for you to hear it for the first time; but you should hold yourself in patience, and I am going to tell you that it is not at all objectionable. The one name should be that by which even the Musalmans of this country are called in America, even in Arabia where they go for performing Haj, and that is the word "Hindu". They are called Hindus even outside India.

Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: They are called Hindi Musalmans.

Babu Kailash Behari Lal: There are Japanese Musalmans; there are Chini Musalmans. Similarly, there should be Hindu Musalmans.

Of course, some friends suggested to me why not Hindustani Musalmans. The mischief will remain. Psychologically people have been made to think of Hindus and Musalmans as two equal and separate entities. That is to be demolished and the Muslims are to be accommodated in the Hindu nation and

placed along with other religions under the Hindu nation. Hindu is a nation. Hindu is a term that never indicates religion; even as regards the Hindus they could make it clear what they are in the habit of saying Hindu Dharma—there is no such thing as Hindu Dharma.

Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: The word used in Arabia is not Hindu Muslim but Hindi Muslim.

Babu Kailash Behari Lal: All right; that makes little difference. My friend, Sir Yamin, says it is Hindu Muslim....

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: The expression used in Arabia is Hindus and Hindi.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: If the Honourable Member will allow me to interrupt—let me make it clear that in Arabia they call us Hindu Muslims and in Palestine and Syria they call us Hindi Muslims.

Babu Kailash Behari Lal: So there is no such thing as Hindu religion....

An Honourable Member: Why not Hindustani?

Babu Kailash Behari Lal: I was saying that if you adopt the common word Hindustani then the mischief remains, that has been created till now. I want to see that the mischief is undone and there should not be any Hindu religious community. There is no such thing as a Hindu religion. I have given a challenge to most of my Hindu friends even to say if there is any set of tenets which they can lay down as saying this constitutes the Hindu religion. There are hundreds of religion in the Hindu nation.

Why not two more, Islam and Christianity? There will be no harm done, the Hindus should disbuse their minds of any idea.

Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya (Burdwan Division Non-Muhammadan Rural): Make them two Avatars.

Babu Kailash Behari Lal: They may not take Christ or Muhammad as Avatars; but they can very well accommodate so many religious preachers of the world. Religions in any part of the world are not the property of that particular part of the world. They belong to the world at large and they can be accepted in any part of the world. So there is no harm if the Muslims and Christians are also included in the word "Hindus."....

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: How will you term the Sindhis, because in the old scripts, the terms "Hindi" and "Sindhi" are the two brothers?

Dr. P. N. Banerjea (Calcutta Suburbs: Non Muhammadan Urban): Sindhis are Hindus.

Babu Kailash Behari Lal: So if the tinge of religion is taken away from the word Hindu, then the word Hindu remains altogether a term denoting a nation, and can be no objection on anybody's part residing in this country to call himself a Hindu. Then, Muslim, Christian, Jain, Buddhist, Vaishnava, Shakta, Sikh are all reduced to one common level, and then the whole trouble goes away. There will not be any question of compromise, or pact or agreement, as has been suggested till now, because compromise, pact and agreement all suppose the

existence of parties; so long as parties remain, there will be a tendency for disintegration and separation, and unless you go to the root cause—of course it cannot be done in a day—but there must be that idea in the minds of those persons who are in authority to set the matter aright, to take the people to the right road and to make of us one common nation. No attempt has been made in the past by the present power to see that the people of this country form one nation. Rather the work that has been achieved by nationalists like Akbar the great has been undone in subsequent years. Our rulers would say that they have not created Muslims or other communities in this country—they were in existence before they came....

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: That is also defective history which you have read.

Babu Kailash Behari Lal: Even up till 1857. when there was this so-called Sepoy Mutiny, when the people of this country rebelled, they seated Bahadur Shah on the throne, although he was a Muslim by religion, and most of the mutineers were Hindus. It never entered their minds that they were going to make a person sit on the throne who was a Muslim by religion.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: The difficulty is this that in the case of Muslims it is given in the Holy Book, the Koran: "Hova Sammakumul Musalimin," which rendered into plain English, means.

"He has called you Muslim; and now are we to follow the commandments of God, or of you"?

Mr. Chairman ; (Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang): The Honourable Member is attending to much interruption all round : he had better go on with his speech).

Babu Kailash Behari Lal : Our ruler cannot say that the process of nation-building or national fusion did not exist in this country when they took over charge in this country: and if they had any real sincerity in them they would have rather developed on that rather than increased the differences. Since 1857 it is not even one hundred years. But today, not to speak of Hindus remaining under Muslim rule or the Muslims remaining under the Hindu rule, they are now proposing that they would not remain within one nation and this is the situation with which our rulers are now confronted; and but for the fact that they are now confronted with a life and death struggle, they would not have even come with the suggestion that now let us forget and forgive the past and build for a brighter future. You May give credit for the intention ; and it is no use crying over split milk; let us now think that all these suggestions come out of the heart—to forget and forgive and build up a better future. But if they do not still go on the right path then no amount of diplomatic words and trying to skip over realities will help them out of this situation. They have created the situation with which they are now confronted, and even if up to the last moment they do not retrace their steps, if they do not take to right key, they will not be able to solve the problem.

My suggestion in this respect will be that they

should now give up their idea of dividing India religion-wise. There should be, as they have adopted in Europe and other parts of the world, a division on territorial lines and they should never recognise any other division. There is still time for that. I remember when I put a question even on small matters of looking to the interests of people in certain provinces under a certain territorial jurisdiction, the Honourable Member in charge of Railways said in answer; "Government do not recognise distribution of services in railway on provincial basis." I may remind Sir Andrew Clow that it was he who gave this answer on the floor of this House. It was surely heart-rending to me, and I still pin my faith that a day will come when those who are in authority will realise that territorial recognition is the only basis for building up a nation elsewhere in the world and that will be recognised in India.

But even till now they do not seem to be at all repentant even to express that their recognition of the division of India on a religious basis was wrong. What will be the consequence if they recognise such things on a religious basis? There will be more and more clamour from all the communities inhabiting this vast continent of India to recognise every one of them on a religious basis. Sir, it is not a question of encouraging the different communities to make such a clamour to recognise them on a religious basis. The beginning has been made, unfortunately by the authorities higher up. Now the excuse is always made that the clamour is coming from below. I want that the authorities should search their hearts.

and find out from where the real mischief has begun, 'whether it has begun from people below who have become the game, or from people above in authority who have introduced this game. If the authorities higher up, directly, were a party for introducing this game, then it is time that they retraced their steps and recognised the healthy principle of building up and evolving a nation in this country on a territorial basis.....

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan : What do you mean by territorial basis ?

Mr. Kailash Behari Lal : India means it is a home for all Indians residing in all the Provinces, but the existence of provinces also will remain. India is a very great country, and so it is said to be a sub-continent. So there must be provinces which have common affinity, a common language, customs and manners. On this basis there are bound to be small divisions, such as we find even in Europe, but they are in no sense better than the provinces of India. So territorial divisions should be recognised and they should be controlled with a sense of reasonableness so that the disintegration of the country may not be helped or encouraged. I don't suggest that though the provinces have got differences in customs, manners, language and other things, they should be helped to develop independently of each other so as to create a situation similar to the one with which Europe is faced today. That should be wisely controlled, and provinces should be given adequate scope to develop according to their own line, but they should remain in the common sub-continent of India.

Sir I have given my suggestion in regard to this matter and food for reflection for my friends in this House as well as to the Government, so that in time they may retrace their steps and set right the mischief they have already done in order that in future all may feel alike for evolution of a common nation. Unless that feeling is created, unless some effective steps are taken to bring about such a feeling, there will be no hope for this country.

VII

Man cannot divide whom God has made one

There has been observed some amount of nervousness on the part of even those Hindus who agree with the theory of one Hindu nation as to the possibility of Mohammadans' and Christians' readiness to accept it. The following extracts quoted from the different papers will show how the truth has its own abiding place in the eternal nature.

'Liberty' of Calcutta dated May 7, 1932

Maldah, May 4. Mr. Fazlul Haq who came here on a professional call yesterday addressed a largely attended meeting in the evening convened by the local Muslim Institute.

Use Swadeshi

In course of his address Mr. Haq addressed his young friends to be thorough like an Englishman in all their actions and requested them to patronize country-made things in place of foreign articles as far as practicable. Mr. Haq said that gradually he was becoming convinced that the Muslims did not require separate electorate or any safeguard.

Hindu Muslim Unity

Most of the Muslims of Bengal, he said, were descended from the same stock as the Hindus and as such it is naturally expected that the members of both communities should live side by side in amity and concord. He looked forward to the day when his community would be able to produce men of genius like the late Sir Asutosh Mukherji and other great Hindus.

Systematic exploitation

Referring next to the systematic exploitation of India that has been going on Mr. Haq said, that when an English father addresses his son to be "rich" he simply means that the latter should "Rob India and Come Home." This humorous interpretation of the component letters of the word "Rich" was very much appreciated by the audience. Free Press.

"Amrita Bazar Patrika" Nov. 6, 1939

'Although I observe muslim religion' said Sir Firoz Khan Noon on the occasion of Dasarah celebration by Indians in London, "I am an Indian cent per cent. I am proud of my ancestors who were Hîndus and Rajputs." Most Muhammadans in India are of purely Hindu extraction. In the Punjab about 15 per cent of Muhammadans have foreign ancestors. In Bengal they are less than one per cent. and in the rest of India not higher than 5 per cent. And yet by strange irony of fate a handful of Muhammadans have been trying to convince their co religionists that they entered the country as conquerors and that they constitute a separate nation. Our Bengal premier is fond of regarding his co-religionists as the descendents of those human lions and tigers who came from outside India's borders and defeated the Hindus at the battle of Panipat. A short course in ethnology will, we are sure, do him a lot of good.

"Hindusthan Standard "Oct. 21, 1939

Gaya Oct. 19, 1939. A large gathering of Indian Christians met on the 16th October to welcome Professor J. C. Hayward from Hazaribagh who is trying to organise a

Provincial Indian Christian Association. Prof. J.C. Hayward gave an inspiring address reviewing the present political situation of India and the place of Indian Christian in the National movement of social and political emancipation. All Communities are taking a part in the political activities of the country and every community is alive to its own little interests, but the Indian Christians are sleeping. They must rise up as a Community or *let them declare themselves Hindus. It cannot be denied that we are fully Hindus as non-Christian Indian, but our religion is of Christ's.*

"Indian Nation" dated April 5, 1940

Muslim cry of Partition

Karachi, April 3. "If the Congress starts civil disobedience without coming to an understanding with Muslims, Muslims know how to defend their interest" said Sir Abdullah Haroon, Chairman of the foreign Relations Committee, All India Muslim League in a statement. Sir Abdullah added that the League was closely watching the developments and would take all necessary steps in appropriate time to safeguard their interests. Referring to comments on the League's Lahore Resolution on the division of India, Sir Abdullah Haroon said that ninety per cent of Indian Muslims were sons of the soil, they or their forefathers having embraced Islam from conviction. He instanced the cases of Mr. Jinnah who comes from a Bhatia family, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan from a Rajput family and he himself from a Lohana Hindu family.

Hindu claims untenable

He adds, "It is only less than ten per cent

Muslims who are descendants of some Arab, Persian or Moghal Dynasty. India, therefore, is as much their fatherland as that of the Hindus...."

"Harijan" April 6, 1940

"But I do not believe that Muslims, when it comes to a matter of actual decision, will ever want vivisection. Their good sense will prevent them. Their self interest will deter them. Their religion will forbid the obvious suicide which the partition would mean. The "two nations" theory is an untruth. The vast majority of Muslims of India are converts to Islam and are descendants of converts. They did not become a separate nation as soon as they became converts. A Bengali Muslim speaks the same tongue that a Bengali Hindu does, eats the same food, has the same amusements as his Hindu neighbour. They dress alike. I have often found it difficult to distinguish by outward sign between a Bengali Hindu and a Bengali Muslim. The same phenomenon is observable more or less in the south among the poor who constitute the masses of India. When I first met the late Sir Ali Imam I did not know that he was not a Hindu. His speeches, his dress, his manners, his foods, were the same as of the majority of the Hindus in whose midst I found him. His name alone betrayed him. Not even that with Quid-i-Azam Jinnah. For his name could be that of any Hindu. When I first met him, I did not know that he was a Muslim. I came to know his religion when I had his full name given to me. His nationality was written in his face and manner.



VIII

Constitution of the Sangh

NAME

(i.) This organisation will be known by the name of **Hindu Rashtra Mission SANGH.**

AIMS & OBJECTS

(ii.) The aims and objects of the Sangh will be :—

- i. To evolve one common nation in Hindusthan by the fusion of all castes and communities that divide the great Hindu nation in so many religious and social groups.
- ii. To create a psychology of one Hindu Nation by removing the notion of religion wrongly attached to the word "Hindu."
- iii. To extricate Religion from the mire of mundane selfishness and political design and to make it a subject of study and realization for the elevation of human souls.

Articles of Faith

(iii.) 1. The word "Hindu" does not signify any religion but it indicates a nation, a society, a culture and a civilization.

2. The caste system which divides the Hindu Society into so many compartments is detrimental to the formation and existence of the Hindu Nation.

3. All sorts of religions irrespective of their origin in any part of the world can have their place under Hindu culture.

4. Thus the people of this country who can not be but Hindus and who include the followers of Islam, Christianity and other religions which have their origin outside India are Hindus.

5. The attempt for the achievement of communal harmony by means of pact, compromise and unity between the present-day communities on religious denominational basis is futile, bogus and disruptive and stimulates the sense of self importance in the communities and leads to the determination for a separate communal existence.

6. Caste distinction and untouchability are ungodly, inhuman and anti-national institutions and should not be countenanced on any account and there should be whirl wind agitation against them till the society is ready to suppress them by means of legislation.

7. A man has no religion by birth.

8. There is no such religion as Hinduism. It may, however, be taken as a synonym for Indianism.

9. Hindu culture means the thoughts and ideas as cultivated by the Hindus in relation with their habits of life as manifested in their customs, manner, dress and laws.

10. Hindu Civilization means the stage of human progress attained by Hindus in the domain of culture of thoughts and scientific inventions leading to the stabilization of Hindu Society based on the said culture and the result of achievement of such inventions.

11. Religion is a personal concern and it is not meant for dividing the society into groups.

12. Dividing of society and grouping of political parties under religious denomination is detrimental to the growth and existence of one common nation.

13. All persons are free to study, preach and practise any religion they like.

14. There should be no barrier in social intercourse on account of religion and religion should not be a bar in the matter of marriage between the marrying couple.

15. Caste sabhas are manifestation of disintegration of national life and should be denounced.

16. The country of Hindusthan is the national territorial unit, the homeland of all

Hindus following different persuasions of religions including Islam and Christianity.

17 Sub-Divisions of Hindsthan into provinces on linguistic basis are the only divisions territorially, that is to be entertained and tolerated on natural grounds and administrative facility.

18. Caste and religious affinity extending beyond territorial limit of a province or the country has a disruptive tendency towards the growth of the nation.

Method of achievement of the objects.

(iv.) 1. By preaching and propagating the articles of faith by means of Press and platforms.

2. By founding of orphanages and bringing up orphan children free from caste and religious bias and prejudices.

3. By encouraging the study and practice of different religions as so many branches of spiritual philosophy.

4. By founding educational institutions where teachers imbued with the spirit of Hindu Rashtra Mission should be charged to turn out youngmen and women in the spirit of Hindu Rashtra Mission.

5. By founding student hostels wherever possible in the neighbourhood of schools and

- v. There should be monthly meeting in which presence of members should be compulsory unless compelled by circumstances not under control.
- vi. The discourse in the meeting should be relating to Hindu Rashtra mission propaganda and about the different branches of activities for the achievements of the objects of the Sangh.
- vii. The Sangh should not dabble in monetary matters and there should be different committies or organisations for different activities, etc. There should be separate Committees for the management of H.R.M.S. orphanage, H.R.M.S. Homes for Sanyasis, H. R. M. S. Schools, H.R.M.S. Homes for the destitutes and the poor, H. R. M. S. Widows Homes, H. R. M. S. Hostels and so on, and so forth.
- viii. There should be a Committee for the H R.M.S. propaganda which should help any Hindu who is the victim of the society in establishing himself.
- ix. The local Sangh and Committees may form their own rules and regulations for the conduct of their business which should not be in contravention or any principles and express rule of the Hindu Rashtra Mission Sangh.

Form of Pledge and Declaration

x. I agree with the Articles of Faith of the Hindu Rashtra Mission Sangh and fully subscribe to them and solemnly declare that I will follow and practise

them actively to the best of my mite and capacity
partially on account of circumstances standing in my way